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NATIONAL CATHOLIC WEEKLY REVIEW

The "vast design" of Belgian Socialists

GERARD G. STECKLER

German revival
of laissez faire FRIEDRICH BAERWALD

Inside Spain______thurston n. davis

EDITORIALS

Pope's Easter call
Monastic life is "booming"
Fair-trade laws
Hope for an Austrian treaty



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Whatever else may be said of Adlai Stevenson's nationally broadcast address of April 11 on U. S. policy regarding the defense of Quemoy and Matsu, it came pretty late in the day. It is now a year since Secretary Dulles declared publicly that the conditions for our armed intervention, in that case in Indo-China, were close to being fulfilled. It is going on three months since President Eisenhower asked and received from Congress by an overwhelming vote authorization to

... employ the armed forces of the United States as he deems necessary for the specific purpose of securing and protecting Formosa and the Pescadores against armed attack, this authority to include the securing and protection of such related positions and territories of that area now in friendly hands and the taking of such other measures as he [the President] judges to be required or appropriate in assuring the defense of Formosa and the Pescadores.

At that time, in his message to Congress of January 24, the President plainly stated:

... The authority that may be accorded by the Congress would be used only in situations which are recognizable as parts of, or definite preliminaries to, an attack against the main positions of Formosa and the Pescadores.

This was a pretty clear-cut definition of the President's policy. It was debated extensively in the Senate before being approved 85-3.

Moreover, the President then declared: "We believe that the situation is one for appropriate action of the United Nations under its Charter . . ." The UN actually invited Red China to send delegates to New York to discuss the possibility of a cease-fire. Red China, in Mr. Dulles' phrase, "contemptuously" rejected this invitation. Indeed, Sir Winston Churchill, in a written reply to a question in the House of Commons on February 23, stated:

... The decision of whether or when these particular islands should be evacuated is not one the burden of which falls upon Her Majesty's Government, and we must recognize the preoccupations of other governments who are immediately affected by the threatened attack from Communist China.

Churchill, in fine, was sympathetic to what we were doing in an area of unique U. S. responsibility.

Premier Faure of France seemed much less sympathetic in his remarks of March 30. He insisted that the "great powers" must act to avoid war over Formosa, and showed his disdain for its regime.

The crucial question, to which nobody has an answer, is how to act to deter Mao. Will giving him the islands, as Mr. Stevenson and others propose, do it? We compromised in Korea and Indo-China to get "truces" which Mao promptly violated.

We can be sure that Washington is keeping the door open to any realistic compromise which might deter Mao and win the effective tie-in of our allies. Achieving both aims is proving very difficult.

CURRENT COMMENT

Mr. Corsi's sudden exit

The 90-day State Department career of Edward Corsi, prominent New York Republican, bore many resemblances to what happened three years ago to his fellow New York Republican, Newbold Morris. Mr. Morris was appointed special assistant to Attorney General J. Howard McGrath on Feb. 1, 1953. His chore was to root out corruption at a time when tax scandals in the Department of Justice and the Bureau of Internal Revenue were giving the Truman Administration a bad time. He came a cropper on that memorable April 3 when, having offended Mr. McGrath by his "methods" (preparing 16-page questionnaires on personal finances for Department of Justice employes), his superior suddenly fired him-only to be invited to resign himself on the very same day by President Truman. Mr. Corsi stayed longer, but hit the trail alone. His exit also had much more widespread repercussions and gave rise to extremely acrimonious charges and counter-charges between himself and Mr. Dulles, Basically, it seems again to have been a question of "methods."

... his "two hat" refugee job

Although his sharp differences of opinion with Rep. Francis E. Walter and others over the merits of the McCarran-Walter Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 contributed to his being dropped cold, Mr. Corsi's immediate concern was to expedite the administration of the lagging Emergency Refugee Act of 1953. With high praise Secretary Dulles had given him two jobs: special assistant in charge of migration and refugee problems and deputy administrator of the 1953 law. The law made the department's security officer (Scott McLeod) its administrator. Mr. Corsi thought, as special assistant, he could overcome Mr. McLeod. Unfortunately, he couldn't.

Irish praise Churchill

Sir Winston Churchill's relations with Ireland have been varied. In 1912 he went to Belfast to preach Irish Home Rule in the very stronghold of Orangeism. In 1919-21, as Secretary of State for War, he carried on armed opposition to the efforts of Eamon de Valera, Arthur Griffith and their colleagues to establish an Irish Republic. Late in 1921, as Secretary of State for the Colonies, he was helping to negotiate with the same men the treaty that in 1922 set up the Irish Free State. In 1938 he was denouncing the action of Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain in handing back to Ireland the naval bases of Cobh, Berehaven and Lough Swilly. In 1945, after World War II, Churchill revealed that his Government, under the stress of war, had seriously considered recovering the ports by force. Against this background it is interesting to note Irish press reactions to Sir Winston's resignation. The daily *Irish Independent* (Dublin), a longstanding opponent of British rule in Ireland, said on April 6:

Irishmen may have had previous cause to quarrel with Churchill over his attitude toward Ireland; but they have always respected a fighter's qualities. Never in history has any nation owed so much to one man.

The Catholic, antipartitionist Belfast daily *Irish News* paid him this tribute: "Those in Ireland who love those who face danger without fear saw in Churchill a man of outstanding courage that never flagged in all the years of war." There is hope for this planet so long as men can be that magnanimous toward a former foe.

President and Congress

With the legislators back home mending political fences, Washington underwent last week its annual invasion by an army of valiant mothers and their tireless sightseeing offspring. It was a good time to check on the progress of the President's legislative program and estimate its final chances of success. So far, a Democratic Congress has given Mr. Eisenhower the kind of tax bill he wanted-though not willinglyand has practically handed him a blank check for the Formosa affair. The Senate has approved several treaties, including Seato and the Paris Agreements, but has not yet acted on House-approved bills extending the Reciprocal Trade Act and the military draft law. Both Houses have voted to raise military pay and extend GI educational benefits. That is just about the total accomplishment to date. So far, the Administration hasn't too much to complain about, but then almost all the big issues are yet to come. Indications are that the President's public-works pro-

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posals—aid to education, highway program and the power projects on the Upper Colorado River—are headed for heavy weather. The prospect is little better for amending Taft-Hartley, raising the minimum wage, removing injustices from the McCarran-Walter immigration act, expanding public housing and approving a health reinsurance scheme. Congress is also taking its sweet time about foreign aid and the proposed military reserve program. On the pay of postal and other Federal employes, the Senate has already declared war on the White House, and fighting over farm prices may erupt at any time. The next two months will severely test both the President's patience and the responsibility of his loyal opposition on Capitol Hill.

Walsh-Healey in peril

If a recent decision of a Federal district judge in Washington successfully runs the gauntlet of the higher courts, the fight for fair labor standards will be seriously jeopardized. On April 4, Judge Alexander Holtzhoff permanently enjoined the Secretary of Labor from fixing minimum wages in the textile industry on a nation-wide basis. This means that the Government will no longer have the power under the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act to prevent low-wage firms from underbidding competitors who pay fair and decent wages. Judge Holtzhoff based his decision on that section of Walsh-Healey which directs the Secretary of Labor to be guided in fixing minimum wages

. . . by the prevailing minimum wages for persons employed on similar work or in the particular or similar industries or groups of industries currently operating in the locality.

According to the judge, to stretch "locality" to embrace a nation-wide industry would be a "tortured" reading of the law. Perhaps so, but the judge's interpretation assumes that the phrase "for persons employed in similar work" must be read in connection with what follows and cannot be seen as offering an alternative criterion to the criterion of locality. The law is plainly obscure on this point. Since this is so, the quickest remedy lies not in the courts, but with Congress. If the Administration takes the lead in demanding that Congress clarify Walsh-Healey, so that the secretary's authority to fix minimum wages on an industry-wide basis cannot be challenged, it will present the Southern-led Democratic majority with a highly embarrassing issue.

To improve TV for children

A spot of good news: the National Broadcasting Company announced on April 7 that it was setting up the industry's first Children's Program Review Committee. Heading the committee is Dr. Frances Horwich, producer-star of "Ding Dong School," who is known to millions of youngsters as "Miss Frances." She will spearhead the efforts to "maintain high program standards for the millions of youngsters who

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adcasting as setting a Review Frances ool," who Frances." high prosters who watch television." This is a move in the right direction, but may we suggest another step? We checked with the British Information Services on how the BBC goes about programming for children and were struck by the emphasis the British programs place on urging the children to be creative. There has been, we were told, a steady increase in the number of programs which encourage children—often by competition—to do or make things for themselves. The BBC Yearbook—1955, for instance, states:

The children's programs underline the design-it, write-it, do-it-yourself approach. Sometimes there is a serial in which the action is brought to a climax. Then a plan of the set of the next locus is shown and children are invited to write the next instalment. Or they are encouraged to design their own Christmas cards . . There is a ban on human gore; no violent action—jaws lacerated by gun barrels, etc.—is allowed.

In our efforts to improve TV fare for children, we could do much worse than study some of the methods adopted by the British. Television used creatively for children can go far to change mere passive viewing into active participation. What should never be overlooked, of course, is that parents have the duty to regulate their children's televiewing.

Religious basis of novenas

Is America witnessing the rise of a "new religion" in the current "cult of reassurance" that is sweeping the country? Paul Hutchinson, editor of the *Christian Century*, examines this question in the April 11 issue of *Life*. His examination is well-balanced and keen; it is especially penetrating in its conclusion that a "religion" that does not face up to the fact of failure and sin in human life cannot be Christian. In the course of his remarks, Dr. Hutchinson makes a statement that may, at first reading, cause Catholics some resentment:

[This cult of reassurance] may be seen at work today in the enormous popularity of the novenas which are spreading among Roman Catholic churches, where following the rules of devotion is supposed to dispose of every imaginable kind of personal problem from getting a job to curing disease and winning back a faithless lover.

A second reading, however, might perhaps occasion a healthy self-examination by those devoted to novenas. Fidelity to "rules of devotion" should never blind us to the fact that a novena is a prayer of petition. God can grant our petition through the intercession of those close to Him, and if He does grant it, it will be because He loves us. Hence the prime fruit of a novena is not the winning of a favor, but growth in the love of God. To trust in any automatic operation of "rules of devotion" would be to succumb to the "dangers of credulousness" (the title of a letter by Alfredo Cardinal Ottaviani, pro-Secretary of the Holy Office, reprinted in the Catholic Mind, July, 1951) which can be no less harmful to true religion than careless incredulity.

China's witnesses to the faith

Today's victims of religious persecution in Red China-both missionaries languishing in a Shanghai jail and native Chinese-will have more spiritual heroes to pray to and model themselves after. On April 17 Pope Pius XII added the names of four French Jesuits, Ignatius Mangin, Paul Denn, Rèmy Isoré and Modeste Andlauer, together with 52 native Chinese, men, women and children from every walk of life to the growing roster of the beatified. All were among the 5,000 Christians who met martyrdom in China during the Boxer rebellion at the turn of the century. That rebellion furnished the pattern of persecution according to which the Chinese Communists are now attempting to stamp out the Church in Red China. It was an anti-foreign movement, provoked, it is true, by the economic and political imperialism of the times but unjustly directed to a large extent against Chinese Christian converts and the missionaries who sought to protect their wards. As in all other Communist lands, hatred of Christianity in today's China goes far deeper than it did at that time. But the pretext for the relentless, psychological persecution is the same: denounce Christianity as a foreign importation and thus break the will and faith of patriotic Chinese Christians. The Boxers failed. So, in God's providence, will the Chinese Communists. Where martyrs die, faith lives. So it has been for nearly 2,000 years.

Cherven massacre survivor dies

Canon Anthony Petraitis, 58, who died in Chicago on April 3, was one of the few survivors of the Cherven Forest massacre perpetrated near Minsk by the Soviet secret police in June, 1941. Over five thousand Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Poles, Ukrainians and others were moved down by NKVD machine guns. This horror rivals in callousness the betterknown story of the slaughter of the Polish officers in the Katyn Forest. Its sole purpose was to enable the Soviet regime to get rid of burdensome prisoners as the Nazi panzers were making their fast initial drive into Byelorussia. Father Petraitis was one of eleven Lithuanians who managed somehow to escape the bullets and to elude pursuit. Of these at least seven are now dead, their lives cut short by the hardships endured under the Communists. A parish priest in his native Lithuania, Father Petraitis was arrested by the NKVD in April, 1941 and subjected to frightful treatment. He rejected threats and blandishments to renounce his faith or to spy on his own parishioners as the price of freedom. He was once led away to be shot, but he survived both this crisis and the Cherven tragedy. In the end of 1953 he recounted his experiences, under oath, to the Kersten Select Committee to Investigate Communist Aggression. He and his companions lived long enough to bear eye witness testimony before the free world of the basically anti-human as well as anti-God nature of world communism.

WASHINGTON FRONT

Ever since President Eisenhower took office in January, 1953, a bitter battle has been waged in the Administration and Congress over the campaign pledge to bring Federal wages and salaries somewhat in line with those of comparable jobs in industry. So far, bitter partisan wrangling has resulted, but no pay raises. In fact, there have been no basic raises since 1951. Only Federal employes suffered this setback.

Now the showdown is near. The current battle began with the postal employes. The case of the other classified civil servants will follow. The White House let it be known that the President would veto any bill raising postal salaries over 7.6 per cent. Whereupon the Senate promptly raised salaries 10 per cent. The measure went to the House, which will act soon. What will happen there? By precedent the House will stick to 7.6 per cent, or maybe 8 per cent. Then the bill will go to conference and the result may be 9 per cent. The President will not likely veto that.

The controversy has raised an interesting constitutional question. Most people seem to think the Chief Executive should have the power to set the salaries in his own branch, instead of the Congress, as in the past. But the difficulty here is that if raises are made, the extra money will have to be appropriated, and that brings in the Congress again. Yet Congress has proved itself incapable of running administrative functions. Only the duly elected constitutional Executive can do that.

Postal employes have always had a strong organization and a powerful lobby. They will probably get nearly what they want, or 10 per cent. The classified civil servants, who come next, have two quasi labor unions, without the power to strike, but are not nearly so forceful. Their bill has not yet been reported out. It seems it will call for a graduated raise, from Grades 1 to 16, with the higher Grades receiving a greater percentage raise.

This may seem inequitable. The theory is that these Grades (\$9,000 to \$12,000) have greater needs. They have to have better and more costly houses, (up to \$22,000), with high mortgages, higher personal insurances, a new and more costly car, heavy entertainment expenses, better schools for the children. That is Washington for you. If they do not keep up with the Joneses in their class, they soon fall by the way-side.

Because of the influx of wealthy Republicans in the new dispensation, these high-Grade raises are likely to be carried through. After all, the businessmen-in-government are taking a terrific loss to "help Ike." They must barely make expenses. A few thousand dollars, more or less, will come in handy. They'll probably get it.

WILFRID PARSONS

UNDERSCORINGS

▶ The Catholic Hospital Association of the United States and Canada will hold its Fortieth Anniversary Convention May 14-19 in Kiel Auditorium, St. Louis, Mo. Since 1918, when CHA issued its first *Directory*, the number of Catholic hospitals and allied agencies in the two countries has tripled and now stands at 1,141 in the United States and 360 in Canada. During the same time the number of *all* hospitals (including Catholic) in the United States rose from 5,323 to 6,840—an increase of about 33 1/3 per cent.

▶ The Young Catholic Messenger (Geo. A. Pflaum, Publisher, Inc., Dayton, Ohio), oldest U. S. English-language youth periodical, will round out 70 years of existence with its April 29 issue. The Messenger began in 1885 as a general-interest monthly. In 1907 it became a semi-monthly and in 1925 a weekly aimed specifically at being an adjunct to classroom teaching. It is now diversified into eight different editions for children of varying ages. Three of these are for Catholic children in public schools.

To help small religious communities which do not have colleges of their own, Webster College, Webster Groves 19, Missouri, conducted by the Sisters of Loretto at the Foot of the Cross, is offering four full scholarships for sisters during the academic year 1955-56. The scholarships, covering board, room and tuition, will be awarded on the basis of need and priority of application. Letters of application should be received by Sister Mariella, S.L., president of the college, before May 15.

► The seminarians of St. Francis Seminary, Milwau-kee, Wis., have published a Mother's Day gift booklet to serve as a Mother's Day greeting card. It is a 36-page compilation of prose and poetry on the theme of motherhood appropriately illustrated by the work of ancient and modern artists. Bound in plastic, the booklet sells for 25¢ (3257 South Lake Drive, Milwaukee).

➤ Sophia University, Tokyo, conducted by the Society of Jesus, has been empowered by the Japanese Ministry of Education to grant a doctor's degree, an NC dispatch of April 4 reports. Four years ago it gained the right to grant the master's degree. Established in 1913, Sophia is one of the 42 Japanese universities (out of 228) that can grant the doctorate.

In New York on April 10 died Rev. Pierre Teil-

hard de Chardin, S.J., 73, famous paleo-anthropologist and co-discoverer of the primitive "Peking Man." Born in France, he entered the Society of Jesus there in 1899 and was ordained in 1912. He went to China in 1923 and worked at various problems there until 1945. He had been in this country for the last four years as a research associate of the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. C.K.

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Pope's Easter call

Religious speakers sometimes underplay the contribution of modern science to civilization. But the Pope on Easter preferred rather to contrast science's beneficial role with its destructive role. The results of the Salk triple anti-polio vaccine were not known when the Holy Father spoke, but their seeming success affords a timely confirmation of what he said in his annual Easter message.

The Pontiff's warnings on the grave dangers facing mankind in the present armaments race were coupled with reminders of the real benefits that research, even atomic research, can bring to our race. As one instance of the salutary purposes into which scientific advancement can be channeled he mentioned the successful experiments on atomic energy as a source of power. His remarks on this subject were an unmistakable allusion to the Navy's atomic-powered submarine, the *Nautilus*. He also referred to the use of scientific research in improving food production and food preservation. Science must yet, with the help of God, prove a true benefactor of humanity, despite our unpropitious entry into an atomic age fraught with possibilities for mass destruction.

His Holiness seemed remarkably well recovered from his December siege that delayed his Christmas address. He spoke to an immense crowd gathered before St. Peter's, which the police estimated at half a million. But the same anxiety perceptible in the Christmas address was evident in the Easter discourse as well. The Pontiff's anxiety over the atomic armaments race is just as apparent as ever, if not more so. He repeated his urgings to the world's leaders to continue their efforts to halt or reverse the present trend of fear. The Pope prayed, in speaking of these world leaders, that

. . . sincerely prepared to reach a lasting understanding, they may throughout the world arrange treaties which will ensure peace, start a progressive disarmament and thus spare humanity the destruction of a new war.

In view of the apparent deadlock at which international politics now stands, the Pope's words may seem unrealistic. Yet Pius XII is too experienced a diplomat to make proposals that promise no utility. The political difficulties of world disarmament between the two wars proved to be virtually insurmountable. These same difficulties are still discouragingly high today when the Soviet Union has given us such a seemingly endless dossier of its expansionist and revolutionary intentions.

But, in the words of the Holy Father, peace efforts are "God's work." The President's recent action in naming a special assistant of Cabinet rank charged with disarmament problems is a step in the direction of peace. The forthcoming United Nations conference on the peaceful uses of atomic energy is another. This conference was proposed by Mr. Eisenhower in the United Nations.

EDITORIALS

The Pope's words can be interpreted as encouragement for the United States to go further along this line. Somehow, a way must be found to avert the menace to all humanity of which the Sovereign Pontiff has now given renewed warning.

Monastic life is "booming"

Contemporary evidence of the vitality of monastic observance is featured in the excellent April 11 article in *Time* Magazine, describing "a remarkable 20th century fact: monastic orders are booming, especially in the U. S."

The *Time* article deals largely, but not exclusively, with women religious. It pictures at some length the life and work of the Maryknoll Sisters of St. Dominic, the biggest Catholic missionary congregation for women in the United States.

There are now all told some 575,000 Roman Catholic nuns and sisters scattrered around the globe. Of these 154,000 are in the United States, three times as many as in 1900. For men religious the figure is 25,000, twice as many as in 1900. Religious men and women teach in 250 U. S. Catholic colleges, 1,536 diocesan and parochial high schools and 8,493 parochial elementary schools. They treat more than 8 million patients a year in 790 general hospitals.

The literal following of the invitation of Christ to "go, sell all thou hast, give to the poor and come follow Me" was chosen as a rule of life by some Christians in apostolic times. Hundreds of thousands of Christians today still follow the way of poverty, chastity and obedience, consecrating themselves by vows to the more perfect following of Christ.

The first loosely organized pattern of Christian monastic life took shape in Egypt around the end of the third century. Following the lead of St. Paul the Hermit and St. Anthony, the "fathers of the desert" took up a life of rigorous austerity in the seclusion of the desert. Living for the most part as solitaries, they came together on occasion for consultation and common exercises of piety.

Women, too, from earliest Christian days, sought union with God by turning from the world to a life based on the counsels of Christ. In Ireland St. Brigid had already established her famous foundation at Kildare by the year 450.

It was not, however, until St. Benedict, about the year 540, composed his famous rule that Western monasticism took definite shape. Instead of the relative individualism of the earlier monks, there now

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appeared a form of religious life under an ordered practical code. St. Benedict, who has been called "one of the last of the Romans," transferred the old Roman ideal of the rule of law to the life of religious communities. His rule wisely governed men and women living under a common obedience in their quest for sanctity. In the following critical centuries hundreds and thousands of communities of men and women formed under the Benedictine rule helped to change the face of Europe and set the tone of the Middle Ages.

Time is certainly to be congratulated for recognizing that in this Year of Our Lord 1955 monastic life is again news. We complain often enough, and justifiably enough, too, about the way the secular press caters to modern man's heavily secularistic bias by focusing its spotlights on purely temporal concerns. Religion is mostly off-stage as far as our press goes.

Time's article did more than turn the spotlight on monastic life. It caught its spirit, its faith and its competence. "History's greatest monastic figures," reported this self-styled newsmagazine, "not only knew how to suffer for God: they knew how to organize for Him."

American journalists have even learned how to report both. This is a real service to religion and to the Lord to whom religious men and women have dedicated their lives.

In an age of widespread apostasy, who can estimate the graces channeled to mankind through the intercession of religious? We owe them more than we know.

Fair-trade laws

In the resurgence of the argument over fair trade, occasioned by the March 31 report of the Attorney General's panel on the antitrust laws, it should be noted that both sides pledge allegiance to competition as our way of business life. The panel gave a contrary impression when, on calling for repeal of fair-trade laws, it described them as repugnant to "the most elementary principles of a dynamic free-enterprise system." That is precisely what the fair-traders insist must be proved. All fair-trade laws do, they argue, is outlaw the sort of competition which leads inevitably to monopoly. By so doing, they preserve competition.

The real question in this controversy, it seems to us, is this: are fair-trade laws, which enable manufacturers to impose minimum resale prices on trademarked products, the best way, or at least a satisfactory way, of preserving fair competition among distributors? One can legitimately doubt whether they are. What cannot be questioned is the legitimacy of the goal aimed at—the maintenance of fair competition in the market place.

There are still some economists in this country, as well as a few businessmen, who believe that competition should be completely free and unrestrained, and that all efforts to impose controls on the market, whether in the name of morality, or in the interest of preserving competition itself, are a betrayal of the capitalistic system and the first step toward socialism. No Catholic who remembers what Pius XI wrote about unrestricted competition in *Quadragesimo Anno* will have any sympathy with this doctrinaire position. It is a hang-over from the time when the theories of economic liberalism temporarily dazzled the minds of many in the Western world. The knowledgeable Catholic may be critical of fair-trade laws and may even favor repealing them. He will not deny the need for measures of some kind to protect the market from the anarchy of cutthroat competition.

Hope for an Austrian treaty

Diplomats of the free world will be given a nice puzzle to solve when and if the Austrian delegation now in Moscow returns home with any concrete agreements with the Kremlin. It is there trying to establish a basis for a state treaty restoring Austria to full independence. The puzzle will be: where is the catch? The whole history of Russia's blocking for ten long years a state treaty between Austria and the Big Four makes it impossible to believe that Moscow's apparent willingness now is motivated by anything more than a foreseen advantage for the cause of communism.

The conditions under which Moscow now says that a state treaty is viable are these: Austria must give rock-bound assurances that there will never be a union (Anschluss) with Germany, that she will not enter into military alliances nor allow foreign bases on her soil. There is actually nothing new about these conditions. Great Britain, France and the United States have long known and acquiesced in them. The hitch, however, will probably be that Moscow will interpret these conditions so strictly that Austria's full independence will be hamstrung. Will Austria, in promising neutrality, for instance, be free to engage in normal diplomatic and trade relations with Germany and other countries?

The West has already informed Austria that any basis for negotiation must be such that Britain, France and the United States can agree. This is a diplomatic statement of the obvious, of course, but it puts Russia clearly on the spot.

Perhaps, as some observers think, the Kremlin will not interpret the conditions too strictly. If so, it will probably be because Russian thinking hopes that a neutral and independent Austria will be a constant temptation to a divided Germany to achieve her unity at the price of neutrality. In this way the Russians may hope that the West will be forced to modify its recently completed plans for rearming West Germany.

If the latest Communist hope-raising technique results in still another frustration of Austrian independence, the blame will rest more clearly than ever on the Soviets.

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The "vast design" of Belgian Socialists

Gerard G. Steckler

Louvain—That a near-riot over a religious issue in a country nominally 90 per-cent Catholic should have occurred in Brussels last March 26 may have come as a surprise to most American Catholics. On that date some 100,000 people jammed the streets of the Belgian capital. Workers, farmers, teachers, students, men and women of every social level converged on the city from the four corners of Belgium to protest the Socialist Government's proposed educational-reform law.

Contrary to the assertions of the Government, the issue which sparked the Catholic protest is a religious one. The Socialist-inspired educational reform is a bald attempt to "statize" education in the worst sense of the term, even to the point of discriminating against private-school graduates seeking teaching positions. Moreover, it represents an attack on the traditional freedom of the Belgian communes and provinces. The Socialist Government is seeking to centralize educational control in the capital to ensure the "formation" of Belgian youth according to Socialist ideals, even in militantly Catholic Flemish areas.

The move to cut subsidies to private schools, which was the issue played up in the American press, is merely a step toward the over-all objective. Its effect is to force these schools, most of which are Catholic, to raise tuitions. Poorer parents will then be compelled to send their children to state schools, where there is greater hope of socializing them. Thus the determining factor in the Belgian Catholic protest is not merely the money aspect of state aid to their schools. It reaches far deeper. It involves the fundamental right of parents to educate their children as they see fit.

BACKGROUND

The seeds of the organized Catholic protest of March 26 were sown at the general elections held a year ago. At that time the Catholic Social Christian party yielded control of Parliament to a Socialist-Liberal coalition. The new Government, headed by Premier Achille Van Acker, was not wafted into power on the strength of its educational-reform program, as some would have it, but rather in spite of that program. The Socialists had held out a shrewd bait to the Belgian electorate. They had proposed a six-month reduction in the term of compulsory military service. It was this plank in their platform which won them the election.

By November the storm clouds began gathering. Léopold Collard, Minister of Education, proposed a Mr. Steckler, S.J., is a member of the Oregon Province now pursuing theological studies with the Flemish Jesuits in Louvain. He taught history at Gonzaga High School in Spokane. His article lights up the complex Belgian political setting, of which the highly publicized school controversy is the most acute, but by no means an isolated, phase. It is, we believe, a good example of "depth" reporting, a kind which current journalism commonly lacks.

bill to cut by \$10 million the state subsidy for private schools. The Government, M. Collard explained, was in financial straits. Simultaneously he proposed legislation which would prohibit the opening of new Catholic schools unless they could be proved "economically and socially" necessary.

In January the storm really broke. M. Collard returned to the attack with a proposal which would limit the hiring of teachers for grade, normal and high schools to state-school graduates. This proposed legislation was an obvious move to keep Catholic teachers in Belgian schools at a minimum.

The Socialists, of course, did not fail to offer official justification for the Collard proposals. At present about 900,000 Catholic students attend Catholic schools. In the state schools there are about 700,000 students, Catholic and non-Catholic alike. But practising Catholics form only about 45 per cent of Belgium's total population. It has therefore become the responsibility of the Socialist-Liberal coalition to "rectify the imbalance."

The Socialists failed to allow for other relevant facts, however, such as the superiority of the annual Catholic birth-rate. In Limbourg, a northern Catholic province, this runs to 25 per 1,000 of population. In most of the south (Wallonia), where practising Catholics form a minority, it runs to only 16. In Brussels itself it is only 14.

Thus, in their appeal to statistics, the Socialists are not being completely honest. Besides, practising Catholics may be a minority in Belgium, but the parents of the majority of children still demand that their children be educated in Catholic schools.

The educational-reform law is far more intricate than this brief account would indicate. Yet what has been said is enough to explain the Catholics' reaction to what they consider a threat to their freedom.

ORGANIZED PROTEST

From January on, opposition to the educational proposals took the form of mass meetings, at which the Catholics finally decided to call for the public protest of March 26. In the meantime, some unfortunately overplayed their hand. The days immediately preceding March 26 were marked by various incidents between Catholic students of the University of Louvain, along with miners and farmers, on the one hand and, on the other, the police, state militia, Socialists and Communists. Some students violated instructions. They destroyed property and staged premature demonstrations in Brussels and Louvain.

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que reidepenever on Such violence gave the Liberal mayor of Brussels the pretext to issue a ban on the planned demonstration. This the Catholics ignored. As a consequence, near-martial law reigned in some districts of the city, as 7,000 police and militiamen were called out to maintain order. The Catholics responded by raising fighting units to be used in case of need. Yet there was little on March 26 that could be characterized as rioting. Despite the potentialities for violence and the occasional rough tactics of the police, the demonstrators maintained their discipline.

If it did nothing else, the Brussels demonstration made it clear to the Government that a responsible and popular opposition to the proposed educational-reform law exists in the country, a fact which it had long persisted in denying. Such demonstrations, however, cannot achieve the long-range solution to a problem which Belgian Catholics will face as long as the Socialist party controls the Government. Several such solutions are being discussed in Belgium. Each has its shortcomings.

THREE SOLUTIONS DEBATED

There are those who favor what they call "federalism." This would involve the complete separation of the two great sections of the country.

Flemish-speaking, predominantly agricultural Flanders in the north and French-speaking, predominantly industrial Wallonia in the south would be autonomous under the King, except for some aspects of administration.

This solution would split the country on a religious basis. Flanders' majority is Catholic. Wallonia's, because of the failure of many to practise their faith, is, in effect, non-Catholic. Consequently, Flanders would most likely always be ruled by Catholics, Wallonia by Socialists. Belgium's religious problem, it is maintained, could therefore be expected to fade away. Many Socialists also favor this solution on the grounds that the next general elections could easily deprive them of control of Parliament anyway.

Opposition to the federalist idea comes from a number of sources. Though many northerners are willing to accept the division because Flanders was for so long politically and culturally dominated by the Walloons, others view with alarm the abandonment of their fellow Catholics in the south. Walloons who object to federalism do so on economic grounds. In recent years Flanders has begun to rival, and in some instances to surpass, Wallonia as the industrial center of Belgium. The federalist solution would cut Wallonia from the potentially more productive north.

The opponents of federalism argue that the unity of Belgium must be preserved at all costs. They believe that Catholics must continue their agitation against the Government, and that sooner or later opposition to Socialist educational reform will shake the Liberals loose from their unholy coalition with the Socialists. The possibility is not as unlikely as it sounds.

The Liberals are the key to control of Parliament. The largest single party in Parliament is the Catholic Social Christian party, with 45 per cent of the seats. The Socialists follow, with 40 per cent. The Liberals with 12 per cent and various splinter parties with 3 per cent bring up the rear. Thus, whichever of the two major parties can woo and win the Liberals, as the Socialists have done, controls the Government.

The Liberals, however, have but two political prin-

ciples—no responsibility for forming a Government and maintenance or increase of their seats in the governing body. Opponents of federalism argue that continued opposition to the Government by the Catholics would make the Liberals fear for both the above principles and thus force them to vote with the Catholics on a vote of noconfidence in the Socialists. The King would then offer a Catholic the opportunity to form a new Government or would call for entirely new elections. Eventually the Socialist education legislation would be dropped.

The strong point of this solution is that, unlike the intricate maneuverings over the retention of Leopold in

1950, it would not cut across Catholic lines. Catholics could stand united behind the Social Christian party.

The weak point, as others point out, is that it can be no more than a temporary expedient. A Social Christian Government could still conceivably fall, with the result that a Socialist resumption of power would once again revive the objectionable education issue. The only alternative, argues this group, lies in cooperation with the Socialist-Liberal coalition in the hope that a compromise education bill might be worked out. Otherwise, they warn, civil war is possible. Just how they hope to reach a rapprochement with the coalition remains a mystery.

The third most-discussed solution is the possibility that the King might make use of his constitutional authority to prorogue Parliament and call for new elections. This is least likely to happen, both because of Baudouin's youth and because of the fact that, though supported now by Catholics, he owes his throne to the Socialists. By the same kind of demonstrations that the Catholics now are using, the Socialists in 1950 forced King Leopold to abdicate. The whole problem might never have arisen had the strong Leopold kept his throne.

The picture is confused. A few things, however, stand out clearly. The semi-official Vatican daily, Osservatore Romano, warned in its issue of November 29, 1954 that the Catholic protest was not motivated solely by the proposed cut in school subsidies.

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vever, daily, ovemmotisidies. "Belgian Catholics are likewise protesting against a vast design, the reductions [in subsidies] being but one aspect of that . . ." The proposed laws "evidently look to the establishment of a moral and material primacy of the public school over the free school."

The Osservatore also warned against the Government's picturing Catholic resistance as an irresponsible attempt to frustrate the will of Parliament. It might here be noted how quickly the Socialists have chosen to forget their own demonstrations in 1950, which directly resulted in the abdication of a king.

Catholics, now that they have taken the initiative, have committed themselves and cannot stop. Many Catholic schools are on the verge of closing their doors. It is a pity that such tensions should exist in Belgium. But the great tragedy is that they should exist in a nation nominally 90 per-cent Catholic.

REAL TRAGEDY: CATHOLIC NON-PRACTICE

Statistics about the "faithful," however, should not be glossed over. In Brussels, 20 per cent frequent the sacraments; in Ghent, 15 per cent; in Liège, 26 per cent, etc. Only in three of Belgium's nine provinces do Catholics as a whole practise their faith. Here is perhaps the real root of the problem.

The Catholic world will keep a watchful eye on events here for the next few months. Belgium's Catholics need the prayers of their brethren in other lands.

German revival of laissez faire

Friedrich Baerwald

In HIS CHRISTMAS MESSAGE for 1954, Pope Pius XII dealt with two economic issues of great importance today to the nations of the free world. (They may be of even greater importance tomorrow should the cold war shade into a precarious state of "competitive coexistence.") The first issue concerns the surprising renascence of what Pius XI in Quadragesimo Anno referred to as the "tottering principles of Liberalism." The second involves the implications of the vast discrepancies in living standards between the advanced and the underdeveloped nations. This essay aims to investigate the significance of these papal statements so that they can be interpreted and applied within the context of the American scene.

Though the United States is considered by most people here and abroad to be the prototype of a competitive free-enterprise system, it appears that what the Holy Father said about the false belief in the "magical power" of the "free commerce system" was not primarily addressed to this country. Rather it was intended for certain groups in Europe, especially in the West German Federal Republic. But first an explanatory note.

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MANCHESTER LIBERALISM

The Christmas message singles out the false teaching of Richard Cobden, a "Manchester liberal" of the 19th century. This is a continuation of the critique of the "Manchester School" already contained in *Quadragesimo Anno*. After the Napoleonic wars, the

Dr. Baerwald, associate professor of economics at Fordham University, spent last year in West Germany doing economic research.

new industrial and merchant classes in England demanded the repeal of the protectionist Corn Laws, which kept food prices relatively high. They organized an anti-Corn Law League, somewhat in the nature of a modern lobby, and agitated for a complete system of free trade. Cobden and his associate John Bright were the most eloquent spokesmen of this movement. In order to push their demand for repeal of the Corn Laws, they advocated an extreme form of laissez-faire economics. Nothing less than complete state withdrawal from economic affairs satisfied them. In the course of time, their doctrines became known as Manchester liberalism, because Manchester was the center of the interests supporting them.

This type of economic liberalism, which (to quote the Christmas message) leads to "the illusion of entrusting peace to free exchange alone" and to a "blind faith which confers on economics an imaginary mystic force," is not predominant in the United States. It is not predominant in our academic world or in our practical approach to economic problems. The efforts, for instance, of the Foundation for Economic Education (Irvington-on-Hudson, New York) to create enthusiasm for Manchester liberalism, though strenuous, are largely ineffective. In fact, the change in Administration in Washington two years ago served only to emphasize the continuity of the mixed pattern of the U. S. economy. This is a pattern which combines a high degree of private initiative and management with a great deal of government interference in the form of farm and shipping subsidies, minimum wage standards and other regulatory activities.

Since extreme economic liberalism is neither widely taught nor practised in the United States, we must look elsewhere if we would understand the application of the papal strictures on neo-liberalism. It seems to me that we must look to certain currents of economic thought in West Germany.

It is indeed a strange development that neo-liberalism should have become in the postwar era a predominant school of economic thought in a country which practised the Cobden brand of liberalism for only a short period and which then abandoned it as early as the 1870's. Since then, German economic doctrine has always followed strongly institutional lines, developing comprehensive systems of social security, favoring the growth of cartels and espousing protectionist programs. How explain the recent upsurge of undiluted liberalism in the face of this tradition?

POSTWAR GERMANY

What happened seems to be this. The rate of economic recovery, following the revaluation and stabilization of the currency in 1948, has been truly astounding. Hard work by all, careful and conservative monetary management and such windfalls as the economic stimulus of the Korean war and spending by American Army personnel have brought about a continuous rise in living standards, the highest residential building rate in the world and, more recently, an upsurge of spending for modernization and expansion of industry. Now, these favorable developments took place under the administration of a very dynamic personality and a real neo-liberal enthusiast, Prof. Ludwig Erhard, Federal Minister of Economic Affairs. As a result, the remarkable economic recovery is not credited to the energy and the careful management of German workers and employers, but rather to the workings of an allegedly existing free-enterprise

In other words, we are confronted here with the not infrequent case of people generalizing from very limited and exceptional experiences and forgetting for the time being the larger lessons of the history of their own country. The surprising thing is that even many younger Catholic economists have adopted the neo-liberal ideology.

German advocates of neo-liberalism like to draw a comparison between the stagnation of the immediate postwar period when the so-called Nazi "command economy" was still in force and the unleashing of the free economic forces once these regulations had been abolished and economic freedom introduced. This leads them to conclude that further progress and lasting prosperity in Germany are linked exclusively with a continuation of the most liberal type of economic system, one in which the role of government is confined to seeing to it that the rules of perfect competition are observed.

If these ideas were merely the thoughts of private individuals without influence on the level of decision-making or of academic teaching, this relapse into laissez-faire thought patterns might have passed unnoticed. But they are the opinions of important and influential people. Since the Holy Father felt it necessary to take note of these developments, he obviously foresees great damage if they continue unchecked.

Catholic economic thinking has always warned against an undue reliance on the unrestricted reign of the "free play of economic forces" in a perfectly competitive market. To attribute the economic comeback in Western Germany to the mechanism of the market is unrealistic. So long as the reconstruction boom continues, the maintenance of such a false in-

terpretation of the actual economic situation may not be too harmful. But it is bound to lead to great difficulties once the impetus of the boom has spent itself. According to estimates, this might be the case in residential building in another three years, and in industrial building in about five years.

Unlike the United States, the population of the West German Republic does not provide a solid basis for further economic expansion. Because of great losses in World War II, population threatens to become stationary for a long time to come. If under these circumstances economic conditions were permitted to adjust themselves merely through the forces of free competition, the result would be further concentration of big business, elimination of many small and medium-sized firms and a new threat to the middle classes, which are only now recovering from the effects of two world-war inflations.

POSITIVE POLICIES

To avoid the danger of stagnation and an increase in unemployment, other recipes are required than those available to economic neo-liberalism. This applies especially to credit policies and the management of public finance. If the present ultra-conservative methods were continued beyond the reconstruction boom, this would be at the expense of the low-income groups of industrial and white-collar workers. The inevitable result would be an increase in the social tensions which are already discernible. Such a development would be undesirable, not only for Germany, but for the free world as a whole. For one thing, communism, which for the time being has been eliminated as a political force, would get a second chance.

Even now a revision of the tax structure of the West German State seems urgent. Altogether too great a proportion of Government revenue is collected in the form of a general sales tax. This regressive taxation places a much higher burden on the lower-income groups than on the higher, especially since the latter have received considerable relief in recent months through the lowering of income taxes. A comparison between the American and West German systems of taxation would certainly not be to the advantage of the German tax structure. But these vital problems become discernible only within the context of the type of social-economic thinking urged in many papal statements. On the level of social justice, economic neo-liberalism is unequipped to deal with such questions.

In his most recent Christmas message, Pope Pius also returns to a problem which he has treated on previous occasions: the gap between the advanced and the poorer nations of the world. Here a number of points have to be considered.

Historically, this gap is of comparatively recent origin, dating back only to the industrial revolution of the 18th century. Up to that time, living standards of the masses of people throughout the world were

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not too far apart. Furthermore, the lack of easy communication prevented widespread knowledge of whatever differences existed. Because industrialization started first in the Western world, it is natural that it is far ahead there, and that the United Statesalways able to take advantage of the economics of scale, i.e., of the expanding markets and abundant resources of this continent-occupies a seemingly privileged position among the free nations.

It is doubtful, however, that this gap is of a permanent nature. Industrialism is no longer the monopoly of one group of nations or of one race. The great unrest in Asia and Africa is caused not so much by an aggravation of poverty as by the

realization dawning on hitherto isolated peoples that progress is possible. This intensifies dissatisfaction with current conditions and creates impetuous demands for immediate improvements.

The Christmas message establishes a clear obligation for the most advanced countries to respond imaginatively and constructively to this challenge. For this reason, careful thought should be given in this country to the question whether past economic-aid programs have been truly effective and whether proposed ones are adequate. Their adequacy must be judged against the background of a world situation in which communism is exploiting economic differentials under the false flag of anti-colonialism.

FEATURE "X"



Mr. Riccio, instructor in education at Rockhurst College, Kansas City., Mo., offers a brief critique of certain critics who, he feels, brush off too cavalierly the whole idea of instructing in education.

THE CRITICS OF MODERN EDUCATION are a motley crew. Their criticisms range from the philosophic disquisitions of Dr. Robert Hutchins, of University of Chicago fame, to the ridiculous allegations of rightist scaremonger Allen Zoll. Between these two extremes, however, lies an interesting group of critics, a small but locally vocal group of liberal-arts professors who are dissatisfied with our present collegians. I am not referring to men like Arthur Bestor, who sounded the tocsin in his Educational Wastelands (1953). Bestorites carry their attack to the national scene. The men I speak of are content to make their criticism felt at the local level, which is often a smallcollege level.

The argument advanced by these critics is curious. Today's college student is inferior, they say, because he has been inadequately trained in high school by teachers who, because of their own training, were incapable of preparing him for college. In a nutshell, these men attribute the ills of modern education (a complex event) to the nature of teacher education (a simple cause). Their position rests upon several assumptions which should be made clear.

These critics assume, first, that it is not possible for one man to teach another how to teach. Teaching, so far as they are concerned, just happens; it comes naturally. Therefore, courses in educational methodology are of no value. It is a strange position that these men take. They admit that progress has been made in all fields of human endeavor. Yet they refuse to admit that progress has been made in the field of

methodology, and that the knowledge of this progress can be passed on from teacher to student.

Second, these men assume that teacher education is the same in all institutions. They fail to distinguish between the teacher-training programs in teachers colleges and in liberal-arts colleges. Since liberal-arts colleges still prepare a large percentage of the secondary-school teachers in this country, the distinction is important. Whereas in the teachers college the curriculum is often studded with methods courses, most liberal-arts colleges, especially the smaller ones, offer only the minimum number of courses required for certification. This means that in liberal-arts colleges future teachers take only about fifteen per cent of their work in education and eighty-five per cent in what have traditionally been termed liberal studies. Can eighteen semester hours in education (the general certification requirement) prevent a student from developing a liberal mind?

Further, these critics fail to appreciate the reasoning behind certification requirements. Ideally, certification is intended to keep good teachers from having to compete with quacks for positions and to protect the public from incompetent teachers. If the situation isn't all that it should be, it should be remedied. But it should be admitted that the idea behind certification is good.

If these critics simply made noise, not too much harm would be done. But their chief non-academic function is to discourage able students from taking the courses required for certification under the belief that these courses are not in keeping with the liberal tradition. (I really don't know how they throw out the study of the philosophy and psychology of education.) In the light of our current teacher shortage, the critics are hardly doing education a service. Granted that our current high-school teachers are not all they should be, it seems probable that this unfortunate condition would be ameliorated in direct proportion to the number of good students who entered the profession.

Reforms come from within. Send capable students into teaching, and eventually there will be a number of educational policy-makers familiar with and proud of the liberal tradition esteemed by our critics. The

difficulty, of course, is that the critics do not want reform; they want revolution. They would abolish all certification requirements save the possession of a baccalaureate degree. They would set the teaching profession back a century. That they will be successful is neither desirable nor probable. Yet one cannot but wish that these critics, in Christopher fashion, would light candles rather than curse the darkness, that they would divert into more profitable channels the energy they now expend in illogically railing against contemporary conditions.

ANTHONY C. RICCIO

Inside Spain

Thurston N. Davis

Why would anyone in his right mind sit himself down to read a 997-page historical novel about what happened to a middle-class family from April 1, 1931 to July 30, 1936 in the Spanish provincial capital of Gerona? One enthusiastic customer, who has been living with this story on and off for six weeks, can answer that. In fact, he would like to go on record with the forthright statement that it is one of the best novels he has ever read, and that his only regret is that he will not be able to do it justice in this review.

In the hope that many another aficionado will find his or her way into the dining room of the Alvear family on Gerona's Rambla, and by that door into the impassioned history of pre-Civil-War Spain, let's get all the pertinent information out in the open at once. The work is *The Cypresses Believe in God* (2 vols., boxed), by José María Gironella, translated from the Spanish by Harriet de Onís (New York. Knopf, 1955, \$10). It is a novel for adults.

The test of a good historical novel is its ability to get you inside the heads and hearts of people you can never meet outside the covers of a book. The story must pick you up and set you down in an alien world. If it's a successful book, then, when you come to the last page, you have been there, you know the people and you can never forget the experience. By this standard *Cypresses* is a success. What else can a reader want?

Author Gironella doesn't need to wind up for over thirty of forty pages before inviting his readers inside the world he creates. He manages to achieve the minor miracle of transporting his reader in the first sentence on page one. We are in the Alvear apartment, in Gerona, in Spain, from the moment we read that "the Alvears knew that in a fistful of space they could create an intimate and impregnable world of their own."

Gironella has the same creative power he attributes to his characters. Out of that comparative "fistful" of Spain which is Gerona he builds a whole world of men and ideas in mortal combat. The creative achievement of *Cypresses* is terrific.

Fr. Davis is an associate editor of AMERICA.

LITERATURE AND ARTS

At the end of the 93rd and final chapter there are 12 pages of names and titles arranged in two glossaries. The first is a glossary of persons appearing in the novel: 74 fictional characters and 58 historical figures. The second glossary adds 28 brief explanations of organizations, periodicals or Spanish terms used in the period 1931-1936. I mention these statistics, not as a curiosity, but to make the point that nowhere does the author fail to give credible and palpable personality to any of his 74 citizens of Gerona.

In The Spanish Temper (New York. Knopf, 1954), a book which left much to be desired, V. S. Pritchett makes a Spaniard say: "We have preserved personality." Those sympathetic to Spain have long realized that her richest resource in these recent, impoverished times is her people. They are unqualifiedly persons. This José María Gironella confirms a thousand times over in Cypresses. Is it simply his art—or is there something about the Spanish which makes it impossible to portray them as mere types? Incidentally, this might be the place to note that if the sharpness, force and utter reality of all these characters suffer nothing by their transition from Spanish to English, this is thanks to the unobtrusive and therefore masterly art of the translator.

With a galaxy of 74 persons to account for, no reviewer would dream of parading them all onto the stage for even the briefest of bows. But some introductions are needed. For the reader has by no means even begun to know his way around Gerona when he has met only Matías Alvear, his wife Carmen Elgazu, and their three children, Ignacio, César and Pilar. He should drop down to the bank and meet the assistant manager, Cosme Vila and the clerk called "Outstanding Drafts."

He ought to go by the anarchists' headquarters and look in on El Responsable and Future; or walk

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dquarters or walk with César, who is a seminarian (and a mighty holy one, too), to the Calle de la Barca to shave the sick poor. Next, a visit to the Diocesan Museum to meet Mosén Alberto, the priest who could never bring himself to be quite so zealous as his colleague, Mosén Francisco. Colonel Muñoz or police chief Julio García could take him round to the Masonic Temple on a side street. On the way back, stop in at the Café Neutral with Dr. Relken for a game of dominoes or a chat with Ramón, the waiter with the wanderlust. And all that would be only a start.

If the people in *Cypresses* are almost tangible, even more real is the pulsing beat of the his-

more real is the pulsing beat of the history they were making during those five, tempestuous years—years when the Republic slowly foundered in the gulfs separating its adherents. The real story of *Cypresses* is the history of Spain.

Gironella so tells this tale of the days leading up to the Civil War that it is impossible to do more than guess to whom he gives his own political loyalties. For most readers, I suppose, he

will appear to identify himself with Ignacio Alvear, ex-seminarian, bank clerk, law student—a puzzled uncommitted searcher after truth. In the brief Author's Note he penned for the American edition, Gironella says that the book's protagonist, Ignacio, "is a type of young man who abounds in present-day Spain." Thus, since one is tempted to imagine Gironella himself as a person much like Ignacio, it is hard to believe that his heart is not with César as this saintly boy rides out under the cypresses one July night in 1936, carrying the last of the Sacred Hosts he had rescued from the burned-out churches of Gerona.

By a sustained tour de force, the author has scrupulously avoided weighting the scales of his novel in favor of any one of the persons, institutions or ideas which were at war in Spain twenty years ago. This may appear to be almost an impossible task for an author-never once to betray his personal feelings, never to slip in a bit of propaganda for his own party or to hold back a little something which might tip the scale to the benefit of those with whom he disagrees. Yet Gironella brings it off successfully. His techniques are clever, but never artificial. If Mateo the young Falangist explains in full detail why he has chosen to die, if necessary, for the yoke and arrows of José Antonio Primo de Rivera, you can be sure that in a few pages the author will make Cosme Vila, head of the Communist party in Gerona, tell you in quite as exhaustive detail why he thinks every Falangist south of the Pyrenees should get a bullet

In his prefatory note the author tells us that his purpose is to defend the "complexity" of Spain. He bids us get rid of all the little tags and labels: "black Spain, inquisitorial Spain, beautiful Spain, tragic Spain, folkloric Spain, unhappy Spain, a projection of Africa into the map of Europe." These are all

equally false if they are intended to convey any genuine understanding of Spain or its people. Gironella's effort has been—as he tells us—

... to capture the everyday traits, the mentality, the inner ambiance of my compatriots in all their pettiness and all their grandeur. In Spain the reaction to this novel has been that it is "implacable." Nothing could satisfy me more.

The complexity of Spain is well defended in this novel, which should be made required reading for every serious graduate course on modern Spain.

The author has a gentle warning for his new Amer-

ican readers. Spain, he says, is a unique country, not readily understood by outsiders. (Does he hint that Anglo-Saxons have some special difficulty in getting "inside" her?) He points out that there are "certain constants" always operative in the Spanish temperament. A Spanish Freemason, he says, is not an international Freemason. A Spanish Communist is not an orthodox Communist.

In every instance what is characteristic is a tendency toward the instinctive, toward the individualistic, and toward the anarchic. Spaniards follow men better than they follow ideas, which are judged not by their content, but by the men who embody them.

Thus, when the story deals with a priest, a policeman, a Socialist or a bootblack, it is essential that Americans keep in mind that there is no question of some generic type, but of an individual Spanish priest, Spanish policeman, Spanish Socialist, Spanish bootblack.

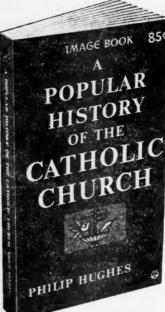
Gironella does no preaching in this novel. He simply lets his characters talk and act like Spaniards; Doña Amparo Campo with her bracelets, Major Martínez de Soria on his horse, Carmen Elgazu timing the boiling of eggs by the length of a Creed, Professor Civil saying: "If one of my grandsons, with his top in his hand, were to ask me to forgive the Jews, I do believe I would." They are all there, filling the Rambla to watch or walk in the Good Friday procession, just as they will all be there to weep or revel as the nuns are machine-gunned in the burning churches.

Cypresses leaves you to draw your own conclusions. Each reader is entitled to his own. This reviewer cannot escape the impression that if we could bundle up all the usual Anglo-Saxon clichés about Spain and set them alongside the Cypresses, they would be seen as the cant that they are.

This book is not by any means the last word on the Spanish Civil War, though in some ways it is probably far better *history* than most non-Spaniards are capable of writing. But until a better historical novel comes along to portray what was a decisive moment in modern social and cultural history, we had better read this one.



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The Grand Coulee story

HAIL COLUMBIA

Sundborg. Macmillan. By George 467p. \$5.75

Far more impressive than the physical stature of Grand Coulee Dam is the human record behind the actual building of this massive structure. By personal interviews with his associates and by constant reference to the 20 large steel drawers in which James O'Sullivan kept every note, letter, article and map dealing with the project, Mr. Sundborg has written a gripping story of the anguish, the disappointments, the heroic sacrifice and the amazing courage of the man who led the struggle to bring to reality the greatest generator of electric power on earth.

Forsaking a successful career as a contractor in Port Huron, Mich., Mr. O'Sullivan returned in 1929 to his earlier interest in the State of Washington. From then on he devoted 18 years to convincing farmers, Government officials, engineers and the general public that the economic future of the Pacific Northwest depended on the development of hydro-electricpower and irrigation facilities at Grand Coulee, on the Columbia River.

In his own lifetime Mr. O'Sullivan saw his prediction come true. By 1947 low-cost power from this area had attracted 42 per cent of the nation's aluminum industry to the Pacific Northwest. Grand Coulee Dam had been recognized as one of the basic elements in winning World War II by providing the sorely needed electric power to build ships and planes. Since 1945 its energy has been used to serve new farms, new towns and new industries in both Washington and Oregon.

Mr. Sundborg's volume lays bare the ceaseless opposition to Grand Coulee Dam from the time it was first proposed in the 1920's to the actual distribution of the power itself. Campaigns of ridicule, plans of counterprojects which would block adequate use of Grand Coulee, attempts to limit the height of the dam, efforts to defeat appropriations for the projectall are described from the records of over 30 years.

The author refers to the numerous magazine articles which tried to show the folly of building this great dam in the wilderness when for generations to come there would not be a market large enough to buy its power output. From Mr. O'Sullivan's extensive files, Mr. Sundborg shows that a number of the most bitter opponents of Grand Coulee Dam years later

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posed unabashedly as its original advocates. Some of these men now even reproach the Government for lack of foresight in not providing more such projects.

Belated recognition of what James O'Sullivan had done for the Northwest came on September 27, 1948 when, by Act of Congress, O'Sullivan Dam, located in the Columbia Basin and then the fourth largest dam in the United States, was renamed in his honor. A Governor, U. S. Senators, a Cabinet official and thousands of residents in the Columbia country gathered to pay him tribute.

A few months later funeral services for James O'Sullivan were held at Our Lady of Lourdes Cathedral in Spokane. At 72 years of age he had won the battle which absorbed so much of his life.

This book is a notable contribution to the history of the Northwest. It has an excellent index on persons and problems relating to Columbia power development. MARK J. FITZGERALD

Analysis of F.D.R.

THE ROOSEVELT LEADERSHIP: 1933-1945

By Edgar E. Robinson. Lippincott. 491p. \$6.

Franklin D. Roosevelt died only ten years ago, and the question of his ultimate place in history is tightly locked in controversy. Yet, for the author of this book and the late Brooks Parker, whose bequest made it financially possible, there is pressing need now to appraise his leadership "before it is too

Prof. Robinson's explanation of the urgency is that there are signs of a legendary Roosevelt emerging as a potent factor in American politics. The historian's duty, as he sees it, is to separate fact from fiction in this legend in order to afford the American people a contemporary view of the authentic figure behind the myth. Not only is it possible now to express a considered judgment of the record of Roosevelt's 12 years in the Presidency, Prof. Robinson thinks, but it is necessary to do so "if we are to survive as a thoughtful and self-determining people."

The task of examining the massive record was undertaken by this Stanford professor of American history at

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e massive this Stanhistory at the request of Mr. Parker's executors acting under the terms of the unique bequest. In a rather uncohesive mixture of history, biography and political theory that clearly bears the mark of Herbert Hoover, his political hero, Prof. Robinson presents the conclusions he has reached after what appears to have been a prodigious amount of reading in the Roosevelt literature.

His judgments are couched in calm, dispassionate language. Occasionally he bestows credit on Mr. Roosevelt; for example, for his quickness to rec-ognize the need for domestic reform and the tremendous uplift of his affirmative approach to the problems of a nation on the verge of despair. He has made an apparent effort to be judicious. The fact is, however, that Prof. Robinson here is an uncritical champion of Herbert Hoover and the Hoover philosophy of government. Having this predilection, it is no cause for surprise that his conclusions respecting Mr. Roosevelt are almost uniformly unfavorable.

For him Franklin Roosevelt was the supreme master of personal leadership. "This personal leadership was pragmatic—an individual playing by ear. It was experimental—an individual using successive opportunities. It was intuitive—an individual sensing the popular desires." These qualities were made to serve an intense urge for power as a means of self-expression.

The basic assumption underlying their exercise was the principle that government is the people, which, for Professor Robinson, is a theory alien to our traditions and in large measure responsible for what he considers the low estate of private initiative and public morality in the New America of Franklin Roosevelt. To this philosophy and a certain superficiality in the late President he attributes his tragic policies, which were all the more tragic because so readily acquiesced in by the American people.

In this essentially conservative view, Roosevelt's basic mistakes were, in the domestic field, a failure to follow the Hoover doctrine of gradual reform in line with the traditional American view of the role of government and, in foreign policy, an undue attachment for and trust in Russia arising out of a fancied similarity of Stalin's regime to his own concept of paternalistic government. The portrait that emerges from these pages is not that of an evil genius, but of an idealistic, well-intentioned leader whose limitations were honest ones. The breadth of the indictment Prof. Robinson draws, however, covers considerably more ground than the legend he professedly set out to destroy. His book

should be counted as one vote stanchly cast against Franklin Roosevelt. JOHN J. RYAN JR.

The contemplative life

MY BELOVED: The Story of A Carmelite Nun

By Mother Catherine Thomas. Mc-Graw-Hill. 252p. \$3.50

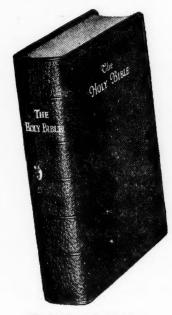
If you have ever wondered what life is like in one of the oldest and most austere religious orders, Mother Catherine Thomas will tell you in the informally informative story of her life as a Carmelite nun. With simplicity and earnestness she shows why a contemplative vocation of prayer and fasting and silence can appeal to and completely satisfy a young girl who wants life in all its fullness, knowledge in all its purity, love in all its sweetness.

Twenty-seven years spent in the Carmels of New York and Oklahoma City have given this prioress and mis-

tress of novices a fund of experience which she uses wisely and frankly in the account of her life. This, like the story of every vocation, is both unique and universal. The first pages contain pleasant details of a happy childhood in a big family. She tells of her school days, her growing love of God, the obstacles to her vocation, her entry into the convent, her first impressions and her first fervors. Then come the lengthening shadows of illness and spiritual trials. She learned why the plain wooden cross in every cell has no corpus and that the Carmelite is meant "to fill up what is wanting to the sufferings of Christ." Like Him she is to be nailed in spirit to the cross for the salvation of the world.

St. Teresa did not like sullen saints. Joy to her was like the flag flying above a castle: it told that the King was within. Her spirit is to be found in these pages more truly than in the heart that is preserved so reverently at Avila. In chapters on the demands and rewards of a contemplative vocation, the same emphases appear in the

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American Carmelite's writings as illumine the pages of her 16th-century predecessor: God alone is everything; all things are passing; the path of love is prayer; penance is the proof of

There exists a widespread ignorance as to the purposes and value of enclosed contemplative religious. Mother Catherine Thomas proves persuasively that these religious are fulfilling a vital and indispensable function in the life of the Church.

In the words of Pope Pius XI: "Those who devote themselves to a life of mortification and prayer do more for the extension of Christ's kingdom on earth and the salvation of souls than those who labor in active works in the Lord's vineyard.'

It is to be hoped that her message is understood and that even the superficial reader will carry away more than a memory of the skull on the refectory table, the sign language and many century-old religious customs that are described so simply and with unexpected detail. KATHRYN SULLIVAN

Rev. Mark J. FITZGERALD, C.S.C., Notre Dame economist, made an extensive investigation of the Northwest power situation last summer.

John J. Ryan Jr. is a lawyer engaged mainly in the practice of corporation law.

KATHRYN SULLIVAN teaches history at Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart, Purchase,

THE WORD

I have other sheep, too, which do not belong to this fold; I must bring them in, too; they will listen to my voice; so, there will be one fold, and one shepherd (John 10:16; Gospel for second Sunday after Easter).

The Gospel for the second Sunday after Easter sets before us the consoling and beloved image of Christ the Good Shepherd. So appealing is that tender portrait sketched by the Good Shepherd Himself that we are apt to overlook the fact that this evangelical passage contains an ideal as well as a picture. That ideal, so favored by our divine Saviour that He will repeat it and plead for it amid the solemnities of His last mortal evening on earth, is a goal which, outside the Catholic Church, is now either explicitly or effectively renounced by a large proportion of those who bear

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Christ's name. The ideal is that of one fold, one flock. This goal, announced and actually promised by our Lord, is complete unity of faith.

It is useless in the present context to inquire into the nature and value of that religious unity which is said to exist, and to exist as a positive virtue of some sort, between three men of whom one says that Christ actually rose from the dead, another says that Christ certainly did not rise from the dead and the third says that it doesn't matter whether or not He rose from the dead. This is the style of religious disharmony that is currently considered to produce such smooth and symphonic effects upon the really welltrained Christian ear. One is tempted to remark somewhat grumpily but with exactitude that as celestial harmony this particular modern choral sounds like hell.

However, it would seem implied in our Saviour's gentle words that those who do believe in the dogmatic and hierarchical religious unity which Christ clearly intended are not therefore entitled to snipe at their neighbors who do not. In plainer terms, the sincere Catholic who is living (as we are living) in what is termed a religiously pluralistic society has certain definite obligations toward his non-Catholic and non-Christian fellows. To attempt a formula, the Catholic must not condemn, he must cooperate, he must not-this word is technical-communicate.

No one of us has the slightest title to sit in private judgment on any man. It may seem to us that in the matter of supernatural faith many an apparently reasonable man will go through some astounding mental gyrations in order to escape what would appear to be the patent, compelling truth. Nevertheless, it remains something less than demonstrable that the distinction between Catholic and non-Catholic is the distinction between the blessed and the damned. The subjective state of every man is known only to God.

As for cooperation, there are obviously huge fields of collective activity, both civic and sociological, in which Protestants, Catholics and Jews desire identical objectives. It has been suggested that Catholics are sometimes reluctant about wholesome cooperation of this kind. In human society, isolation never constitutes a general ideal.

The Catholic cannot, of course, communicate in what he knows to be a distinctively religious and religiously heretical rite. The Catholic, that is, must always be Catholic.

Would it be fanciful to suppose that determined and reasonable behavior

along lines such as these might even become a means whereby the earnest sons and daughters of Holy Mother Church would contribute, in some sort, to the fulfilment of our Saviour's ideal of one flock under one Good Shepherd?

VINCENT P. McCORRY S.J.

THEATRE

SILK STOCKINGS, presented at the Imperial by Feuer and Martin, is an ambidextrous musical show that lampoons the austerity of Communist Russia on the left while aiming satirical barbs at the lunacies of Hollywood on the right. The leading characters are an American artists' agent and a girl commissar who meet in Paris and fall in love.

A Russian composer is permitted to stray over to our side of the Iron Curtain, presumably for propaganda purposes. He becomes so popular in Paris that demands for his appearances are piling up, and his American agent persuades him to overstay his leave. The Kremlin dispatches three private eves to discover the reason for his apparent reluctance to return to Russia, and the girl commissar is sent to check on the checker-uppers. All of them are quickly beguiled by the night life, girls, luxury and, above all, the freedom of Paris. In Russia they never had it so good.

As musical comedy, Silk Stockings is sufficiently entertaining. It has melody, humor and a new twist of the boy-meets-girl story. The contrast of the types of character produced by communism and democracy, however, leaves some doubt about which nation is being lampooned. The Russian girl has a sense of dedication while her American sweetheart lives for money and pleasure. George S. Kaufman and Leueen MacGrath wrote the story and Abe Burrows was later called in as play doctor, winning co-author's billing. As a satire on life in a slave state, the story would probably have been more trenchant if Mr. Burrows had kept his hands off.

While Silk Stockings is uncertain of its aim as political satire, it is good fun and good listening on the entertainment side, reaching its musical peak in a jam session in Moscow. There is delicious low comedy in the rush of actors, musicians, ballet dancers and commissars to get aboard a fugitive plane. They love the Communist way of life so much that they can hardly wait to escape.

Cole Porter wrote the music and

Theodore Maynard

writes a graphic life of Mary Tudor which he ironically calls

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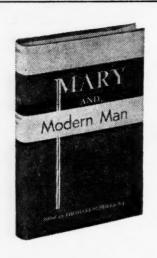
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Contributors

Frederick A. Harkins, S.J.; Conrad Pepler, O.P.; William A. Donaghy, S.J.; Daniel Sargent; Paul F. Palmer, S.J.; John LaFarge, S.J.; Rev. John S. Kennedy; C. C. Martindale, S.J.; William Juhasz.

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lyrics, which are pleasing and obviously ephemeral. There is no song in the show that sticks in the memory. Jo Mielziner's sets, while providing a right background for the story, are patently one of his easy jobs. Faults in Cy Feuer's direction, if any, are not visible to the naked eve.

Faults in performance are still harder to discern. Hildegarde Neff is convincingly stiff as a product of Soviet education and Don Ameche swaggers eloquently as an American who apparently thinks that living free and easy is adequate thanks to our ancestors who died on Boston Common and suffered at Valley Forge. As a Hollywood glamour-girl with a low IQ, Gretchen Wyler's portrayal of a beautiful Dumb Dora is the most deliriously humorous performance since Carol Haney came to town in The Pajama Game. It is inexcusable that in one scene Miss Wyler does a delayed-action strip, which is not only vulgarly suggestive, but also incompatible with the story. THEOPHILUS LEWIS

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FILMS

THE PURPLE PLAIN is an uncomplicated, precisely plotted old-fashioned romantic tale. A World War II RAF pilot (Gregory Peck) loses all desire to live when his bride is killed in an air raid on their wedding day. Though death should not be hard to find in wartime, the pilot keeps surviving dangerous missions and getting medals. Finally, on a routine flight in Burma, the law of averages seemingly catches up with him when engine trouble forces him to crash-land his plane deep in enemy territory. By this time, however, he has found a compelling reason for living in the person of an enchanting young Burmese girl (played by an enchanting young Burmese actress, Win Min Than). An epic struggle for survival ensues.

Despite a badly burned navigator (Lyndon Brook) and a neurotic passenger (Maurice Denham) with a genius for non-cooperation, who finally goes berserk and shoots himself, the pilot succeeds in completing the forced march back to safety, part of the time without water and part of the time carrying his injured companion

across his shoulders.

On its own romantic terms the film is quite palatable for *adults*. Its love story is charmingly understated, its military camaraderie acutely drawn

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thirst with almost uncomfortable real-(United Artists)

MAMBO, in one promotional piece, is advertised as "the exalting story of a slum girl who attains integrity through her experiences with men and her love of the dance." Compared to most Hollywood advertising blurbs this one is a model of accuracy, though "integrity" seems too strong a word in the circumstances and "exalting" an entirely misleading adjective. In any case, the blurb pointedly and wisely refrains from making any direct claims about the picture's quality, which is pretty bad.

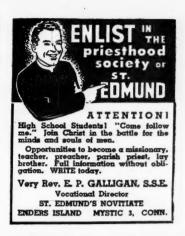
The slum girl is played by highly publicized Italian movie queen Silvana Mangano, whose listless performance is probably due in part to having her English dialog "dubbed." She is shown as the type who is ambitious and restless enough to want to better her lot in life and beautiful enough to be eligible for "the easiest way." The men in her life are a petty crook (Vittorio Gassman), who can always be counted to achieve new depths of degradation, and a decadent hemophilic Italian nobleman (Michael Rennie), who has a better side to his nature. Dancing gets into the act when the heroine joins up with the Katherine Dunham troupe (played by themselves with little distinction).

In over-all effect the film is a sort of poor man's Barefoot Contessa. It is just as lurid and specious as to plot, but lacks the latter's perceptive overtones of social satire and distinction in performance and execution. The most surprising thing about the picture is that it is the work of a sometimes first-rate director, Robert Rossen.

(Paramount)

LONG JOHN SILVER is a Cinema-Scope sequel to Treasure Island, written by Martin Rackin, directed by Byron Haskin (who directed the original) and tailored to the highly specialized school of overacting subscribed to by Robert Newton, who occupies the title role. The picture is notable mainly for establishing (1) that Robert Louis Stevenson was a better concocter of pirate yarns than is Rackin, and (2) that a little of Long John Silver goes a long way. In treatment it relies too heavily on graphic bloodletting and on the unregenerate duplicity of its hero to be quite suitable for youngsters. On the other hand, its action is fabricated with a guileless simple-mindedness (not to be confused with the classic story-book quality) which is hardly calculated to endear itself to grown-ups.

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CORRESPONDENCE

Delinquents need religion

EDITOR: Fr. George understandably complains ("Young thugs need God, Am. 3/26) about the almost complete ignoring of religion in the Interim Report of the Senate Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency. That secularist attitude is a reflection of the textbooks of delinquency and crime in common use today. They may make a tongue-in-cheek admission that the church as a welfare agency has something to offer when it establishes "asceptic swimming pools, characterbuilding rumpus rooms and dairy bars." But to religion as the living out of a "spirit of reverence for Almighty God"-not to mention supernatural, sacramental religion - little more than slurring reference is made.

We Catholics must point with insistence to such reformative efforts as those of Boys Town and of the Good Shepherd Homes as living evidence of what religion can do. So incomparably fruitful have been such religious efforts that Judge Peter M. Horn, of the magistrates' courts of New York City, has proclaimed:

I have worked with the Sisters for over fourteen years. Our record of achievement vould not be possible were it not for the cooperation of the sisters. . . It is my firm conviction that in the planning of training schools of the future, we should encourage their establishment under religious auspices.

The absolute need of religion if we are to prevent and correct delinquency is a "condition, not a theory." Let the friends of religion and of troubled youth insist upon being heard.

(Rev.) John E. Coogan, S.J. *
Chairman, Department of Sociology, University of Detroit. Detroit, Mich.

Thanks for the publicity

EDITOR: It may be of interest to you and your staff to know that articles from AMERICA are elaborated upon in a radio and television program very appropriately titled "Let's Think about It." The speaker is Rev. Basil Reuss, O. Praem. His program is broadcast over WBAY and WBAY-TV throughout Wisconsin and upper Michigan.

Fr. Reuss teaches social science at St. Norbert's College, West De Pere, Wis. His analysis-discussion of your articles pertaining to Catholic social principles makes the general public aware of the importance of practising them. He also makes people aware of AMERICA and its coverage of news and

James F. Prosser Green Bay, Wis.

(We are indebted to our correspondent for this information, and to Fr. Reuss for the use he makes of this Review. Many thanks to both. ED.)

Belgian school crisis

EDITOR: I would like to add some qualifying remarks to your well-documented editorial on the school question

in Belgium (4/9).

The Catholic schools are rather moderately "supported" by the state. In the grammar schools, this support covers only the salary of the teachers, all the remainder being provided by the parishes. Likewise, the state spends three times as much money for one public high-school student as for one private high-school student. Yet these subsidies are to be cut down under the Government's proposed law, while more money will be spent for public schools.

With regard to mass demonstrations, it is good to mention that, unlike the Socialists five years ago, the Catholic organizations expressly disapprove of any use of violence. Actually, given the insidious official propaganda, such demonstrations seem the only efficient means by which the majority of Belgian parents-and many other peaceful citizens-can make known their opposition to the present educational proposals of the Government.

It is clear that the slight Socialist-Liberal majority in the Parliament does not represent the opinion of most Belgians on the school issue, which was carefully avoided by both Socialists and Liberals during the last election campaign. This was lost by the Christian Democrat Government mainly on the score of its endorsement of the heavier military obligations imposed upon Beigium - fense Community.

PAUL LEBEAU, S.J. upon Belgium by the European De-

Woodstock, Md.

(See pages 99-101 for a fuller treatment of this topic. ED.)

(AMERICA welcomes letters for publication, of about 250 words or less. Please type and give name and address of sender. ED.)

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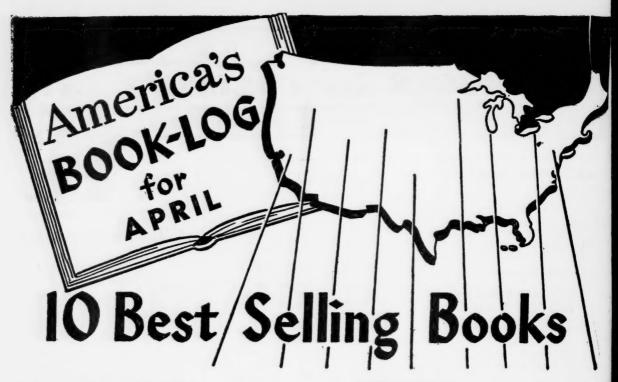
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